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THE SLOGAN: GUNS BEFORE BUTTER

Washington beats the war drums as a reply to sputnik

By Kumar Goshal

LAST WEEK THE PRESIDENT of the United States, the Vice President, the Secretary of State and other top officials made World War III seem imminent. But Soviet CP First Secretary Khrushchev said chances for maintaining peace were "not bad."

In his second "chins up" address on Nov. 13, President Eisenhower spoke of the Soviet "threat" to U.S. security and how Washington is preparing to meet it. He boiled down his administration's objectives to "four main tasks": (1) "Maintaining a strong nuclear retaliatory power" against a possible Soviet "attack on us and our allies"; (2) "Provide a force structure" with our allies "flexible" enough to "cope quickly with any form of aggression against the free world"; (3) "Keep our home defenses in a high state of efficiency"; (4) "Have the reserve strength to meet unforeseen emergency demands."

WAR SCARE: The speech bristled with warlike phrases: "accelerating the dispersal of Strategic Air Command to additional bases"; increasing America's "retaliatory power" by "adding long-range missiles, both land and ship-based, to our security forces"; helping "allied economies support needed military units"; speeding up "response to emergency alarm . . . "

Heightening the sense of imminent danger, the National Defense Executive Conference met for the first time in Washington the day of the President's speech. Nixon and Dulles spoke to the 1,200 members of the Executive Reserve representing business, labor and the professions standing ready for mobilization assignments in the event of war.

Nixon assured them that the U.S. and its allies "are strong enough to meet and defeat" any Russian aggression. Dulles was equally confident of victory because —as he moralized—"free societies" were fighting "the most atheistic society" in world history. Sen. Homer E. Capehart (R-Ind.) increased the sense of peril by urging Congress to pass stand-by legislation authorizing the President to impose wartime wage and price controls and rationing.

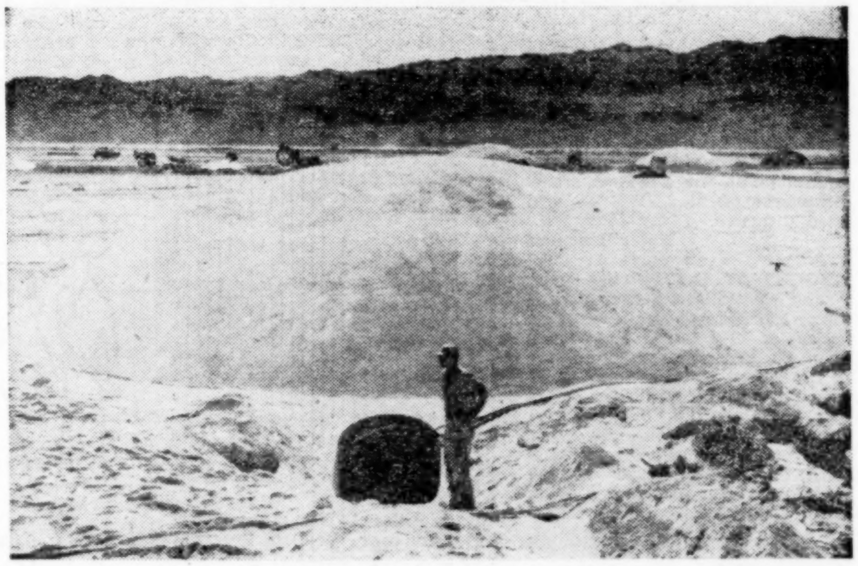
SHOWING THE FLAG: On Nov. 12 two U.S. Air Force generals added to the scare. Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, U.S. Air Force Vice Chief of Staff, "showed the flag" by personally flying a KC-135 Strato-tanker from Westover Air Force Base in Massachusetts to Buenos Aires, Argentina, in the record time of 13 hours 2 minutes. The 6,350 mile flight was made without refueling, presumably to demonstrate the bombing range of U.S. planes.

On the same day, U.S. Strategic Air Command chief Gen. Thomas Power said in Paris that since Oct. 1 he has had planes all over the world loaded with nuclear bombs ready to take off within 15 minutes of any warning of a Soviet attack. He said: "The planes are on the runway loaded with bombs. The crews sleep nearby. We are increasing the

(Continued on Page 8)

IN BRITAIN THEY LOOK UP . . .
Londoners come out in force for a peek at the sputnik

. . . IN AMERICA THEY LOOK DOWN
Holes in the Nevada ground for survival in the atom age



THE SLOGAN: CO-EXISTENCE OR DESTRUCTION

The people pass the pipes of peace

By Elmer Bendiner

IN THE EARLY YEARS of the Russian revolution there were efforts to talk to the people of the world over the heads of their governments. They were rarely successful; but by last week it was clear that the sputniks were reaching people directly with a revolutionary message more potent these days than "Bread and Land," and that people were answering in a portentous chorus.

One response was the full-page advertisement by the newly-formed Natl. Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (See p. 5) which appeared in the N.Y. **Times** on Nov. 15 and later in the Chicago **Sun.** The statement, which envisioned the revolutionary possibility that it might become "necessary for people to restrain and tame the nations" in order to safeguard the future brought a prompt return in the mail. By Tuesday, Nov. 19, there had been close to 500 responses. Most of them contained contributions to finance further advertisements planned by the Committee.

STEAM FOR THE SUMMIT: The specifics of the Committee's program were not as significant as the fact that the sputniks were shaking Americans as nothing else had since World War II. The stirrings were seen also in the gathering steam behind the proposal from the U.S.S.R. for a summit conference of scientists. That proposal won a quick response from Dr Eugene Rabinowitch, editor of the **Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,** from the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** which headlined an editorial: "A Soviet Hand of Friendship"; from industrialist Cyrus S. Eaton who sponsored last July's scientific conference at Pugwash, Nova Scotia.

In the Canadian parliament M. J. Coldwell, leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Fedn., queried Prime Minister Diefenbaker on the subject and won gov-

(Continued on Page 4)

AN EDITORIAL REPORT TO READERS

The challenge—the threat

THE SOVIET UNION HAS EMBARKED on experiments in outer space which undoubtedly will advance man's knowledge about his universe in breath-taking fashion. The experiments have captured the imagination of the civilized world as no other event in our memory. Reams of pages of explanation and speculation have appeared; new words have been added to the lexicon; scientists the world over have expressed their admiration.

In the face of this challenge, the Government of the United States, until this point known as the most powerful nation on earth, has reacted in a most incredible fashion: It has turned a challenge into a threat; it has warned its people to turn away from a vision of potential peace and glory for mankind and look instead upon an image of war and privation. Devoid of imagination—or desire—for participation in the new era of man, it has reverted to the propaganda of Hitler and come up with a bloodstained slogan." Guns before butter."

Trigger-happy U.S. generals fly like mad insects about the world to "show the flag." Our abysmal Secretary of State, whose every pronouncement causes shudders, warns that we may have to give up our "marginal freedoms." On the nation's television screens the Great White Father Image, coached by a Hollywood professional, reads ghost-written sermons to reassure his children that there need not be peace in our time. The Democratic Presidential candidate of 1956 offers his cooperation to prolong the Cold War. We must at all costs, he says, prevent an "economic breakthrough" by the socialist world: even an economic challenge is dealt with in military terms. Walter Reuther, a leader of labor, pledges the workers of America to make "every sacrifice necessary" to outstrip the Soviet Union in the missile field.

By coincidence which is not so odd, even as the President abandons his sacred balanced budget for more money for arms, and Harry

(Continued on Page 2)

in this issue

CALIFORNIA BRAWL
Knight scalped . . p. 3
CIVIL RIGHTS BOARD
Broad & vague . . p. 4
PLEA FOR SANITY
In nuclear age . . p. 5
CLAUDE WILLIAMS
A burning cross . p. 6
WORLD OF RICHES
In heavy water . . p. 9
ALBERT CAMUS
Saint & Sinner . . p. 10

THE MAIL BAG

The N.Y. election

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Your post-election editorial, dealing in part with the Davis-Charney statement on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in New York, does a disservice to the socialist cause you espouse so eloquently. That statement attempted to clarify, on the record, and within the confines of limited space, just how the SWP operates. And it's extremely important that socialist-minded people understand this misnomered party for exactly what it is—a harmful divisive grouping.

The **GUARDIAN** can probably get away with its cavalier treatment of such an important statement only because the bulk of its readers are not trade unionists in industry. But anyone who was in union work from the 30's on can tell you that these people are the end, man, no matter how many romantics have recently joined up.

I think, in all fairness to those who wish to orient toward socialist goals and principles, you should print the Davis-Charney statement on the SWP — and then disagree, if you care to.

Peter Harmon

•

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

The elections are over. Tammany has won—but the election policy of the GUARDIAN has been vindicated and the policy of the leaders of the Communist Party has been repudiated by its own membership. For, lo and behold, the city-wide slate of the SWP, endorsed by the GUARDIAN, garnered 14,000 votes—and on the Lower East Side Council candidate Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Communist, and Joyce Cowley, SWP mayoralty candidate, received identical votes of some 700 each.

In 1953, the SWP mayoralty candidate polled only 4,000. Apparently this remarkable increase of 10,000 votes was, in the final analysis, due to the vote the SWP received from CP members, sympathizers, former ALP'ers and Progressive Party members and, far from least, readers of the GUARDIAN, who proved more loyal to the principles of socialism than did the so-called "leaders" of the CP. In effect, it was a repudiation of the Nov. 3 decision by the CP State Committee to denounce a vote for the SWP as "a vote that objectively gives some measure of support to counter-revolution."

The thousands of CP members who were never consulted on the bureaucratic decision of Davis, Charney and their associates in state leadership have spoken in the privacy of the polling booths for independent political action and genuine fraternal relations between competing socialist tendencies. They deserve an answer to the question: who was guilty of giving aid and comfort to "counter-revolution" — those who supported a socialist candidate or those who supported a Tammany candidate endorsed by the **Daily News** and **Journal American?**

L. Deaty

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

A. E. S. Stephens, newly-elected Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, in a campaign speech:

"$50,000 a day it costs us to keep them nine little Negroes in that white school in Little Rock. Good money we could have spent for defense. I'm telling you people if it weren't for them nine little Negroes it would be our sputnik up there tonight and not the Communists'."

—**Newsday,**
(Long Island, N.Y.) 11/13

One year's free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anonymous, Great Neck, N.Y.

SWP candidates write

NEW YORK, N. Y.

We want to express our warm thanks to the NATIONAL GUARDIAN for its endorsement of our candidacies. We greatly appreciate the principled stand that you took in extending support to us even though you differ with us on various programmatic issues. We would also like the opportunity to thank your many readers who backed us at the polls.

While the 14,000 votes registered for our socialist program was modest in terms of those obtained by the capitalist parties, it was, nevertheless, a significant and meaningful vote. The GUARDIAN deserves much credit for the fact that our vote was substantially higher this year than it was in the 1953 Mayoralty election.

At the same time the GUARDIAN stand was a fine contribution toward furthering the unity of all those who seek to advance the principle of independent working class political action. For our part, we pledge to continue to lend our energies to the building of such unity of action by all those seeking a working class alternative to the reactionary domestic and foreign policies of the twin parties of Big Business.

Joyce Cowley
Lillian Kiezel
Morris Zuckoff
Alvin Berman

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO ALL READERS

BEGINNING WITH JANUARY, the subscription price of NATIONAL GUARDIAN will be $5 a year, single copy 15c. The increase is compelled by rising production costs under which we can no longer maintain our $3 a year price. Our $1 introductory sub will continue for new readers on a 13-week basis. All regular subscribers have received or will soon receive a letter explaining the circumstances and offering renewals now at the present rate through the month of December. Please let us have your response soon. Single copy purchasers may obtain a copy of our letter to subscribers, which contains a holiday gift offer, by writing or calling the GUARDIAN.

Needed: A people's party

BRAINERD, MINN.

We are in urgent need of a political party which will grant the rights to all citizens, as proclaimed in our Declaration of Independence. The leaders of this party must be selected from the nations' best statesmen and not political racketeers. If we are ever to attain a people's party the time for action is urgent.

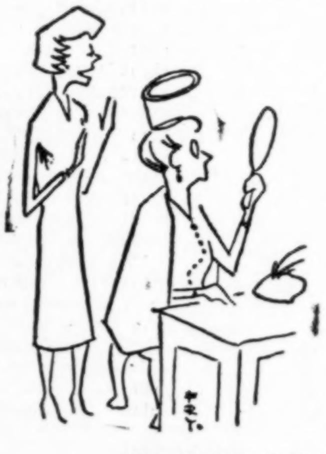
Robert Scherlie

Any means to peace

PITTSBURGH, PA.

If anyone could show me how criticism of Russia would really promote peace, I would gladly try it. It is not too difficult to get facts on which to base criticism of my own country; but it is almost impossible to get reliable information about Russia. Our country is simply flooded with anti-Russian propaganda of the most rabid kind—on radio, TV and in both the printed and spoken word everywhere. There is so much of it that it is sickening, and for that reason probably defeats the very purpose of its originators to a considerable extent.

Anthony Bruce Cox



Reynolds News, London

"It's heavenly . . . ."

Brain-saver

PUEBLO, COLO.

Why did the Soviet Union beat us to outer space?

Under socialism the means of production is owned by the people. No man can exploit another by profiting from his labor. Because of this, since no man exploiting another is no problem, many great brains are saved for other constructive purposes.

Paul Stewart

Appreciation

KENORA, ONT.

Thank you and Anna Louise Strong for sending me the **GUARDIAN** in lieu of her publication **Today**. As a "world citizen"—for God created only one world for man to live on—I appreciate the purpose of your paper. I despise the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its entirety; for their activities are contrary to the American Constitution. How grateful we are for weekly news of the caliber of the **GUARDIAN.**

(Mrs.) Pearl Butt

Keep it short!

COLUMBUS, OHIO

If I have any criticisms at all to make of the progressive and anti - hogwash - humbug-and-hypocrisy journals, it would be that they need titivating up with short, pungent paragraphs hitting at the core of political and religious corruption. Too much verbiage becomes tedious.

J. R.

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REPORT TO READERS

The challenge — the threat

(Continued from Page 1)

Truman says the people will have to pay more taxes to get up the money to lick the Russians, the Federal Reserve Board indicates that the long-rumored recession is upon us. Thus the challenge of Sputnik serves Washington's purpose to reach into our pockets for the cash to prime the armaments pump and preserve the holy rate of profit. Thus the fat frame of monopoly capital will once again take on the appearance of economic health.

SURELY ANY STRAIGHT-THINKING American who loves his country must see that Washington has come to a dead-end. The world wants peace and trade and we offer atomic weapons. We play imperialist ally against colonial, Arab against Arab and Arab against Jew. We tell the world that China and her fourth of the earth's people do not exist except on an island fortress with a corrupt war lord commanding thousands of aging troops who would desert in a minute if they had the chance.

There apparently is a misreading of the facts of life in Washington—even as there was in Berlin and the other world capitals in 1941 when Soviet power and potential were grossly underestimated. Persistence in such misreading—in the face of Soviet progress and the growth of the socialist world—seems to be a recurrent illness of capitalism which could prove fatal. This is recognized by industrialist Cyrus Eaton and some others who want to ensure the survival of capitalism. Their remedy is to meet the Russians half way.

The course of world events in the 16 years since 1941 leads to certain inescapable conclusions:

- Socialism works. It can—especially through mass education of people who never before have had it—create a higher form of society. This is not to blink the outrages that have occurred in many socialist states, which must be resolved before the socialist states can achieve this new society.
- The real hope for the U.S. and for the self-esteemed "free world," is to build an economy for peace for the benefit of all its people, and to live and work and trade with the socialist countries which are here to stay.

Failure of the U.S. to accept this second premise could lead to total destruction. For behind the scientific challenge of the Sputnik is an unspoken fact: the conquest of outer space more than balances the power of the U.S. to wreak atomic havoc on the Soviet Union from its bases abroad; the U.S.S.R. can guide the same destruction to the U.S. This is a compelling reason for negotiations for peace.

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN, since its inception, has maintained that a policy of peaceful competition with the socialist world and constructive planning of the American economy for peaceful use is the only way to avert war and privation. Almost a lone voice in a sea of conformity, we opposed the fantastic arms expenditures for weapons which every few years are scrapped as obsolete; opposed the Korean war which brought profits to American industry and desolation to millions in Asia; opposed the cold war at home with its repression of civil liberties, its hounding into uselessness—and worse—of some of the best minds of the country (reflect here if you want an answer to the question as to why the Soviet Union was first to conquer space).

From the beginning we have maintained that there must be an alternative to the course of war and misery and have demonstrated that the old political parties offer nothing but more of the same. The evidence is ample that this position has been and is still sound.

We say again, as we have said so many times, that the real long-range alternative can come only through independent political action on the part of the American people. We say that a start must be made toward that objective. In the weeks and months ahead we shall attempt to spell out a program for such political action, as simple and as sound as it should be.

WE ARE UNDER NO ILLUSION that the GUARDIAN can be a movement; we are a newspaper which can be the voice of such a movement. The movement for the long-range goal must be made up of people who are willing to look the facts of life in the face and want to do something about them—something good and constructive that will finally help to create a world of peace and plenty.

Today in America more and more people are waking up to these facts. The job is to join with them and to rouse the nation out of its conformism and its apathy. Then move forward.

—THE GUARDIAN

HOW KNIXON AND KNOWLAND DUMPED KNIGHT

Switch-blade politics used in California GOP rumble

By Lawrence Emery

THREE CALIFORNIA Republicans want to be President: Gov. Goodwin J. Knight, Sen. William F. Knowland and Vice President Richard M. Nixon. Aside from their ambitions, the three have in common a hearty personal dislike for one another. By last week their in-fighting made GOP politics in California look like something at the bottom of a snake-pit.

In U.S. politics, it is far easier to get to the Presidency from a governor's chair than from a seat in the Senate; Vice Presidents rarely make it on their own steam—it hasn't been done since Martin Van Buren was elected in 1836 after serving a term as Vice President.

So Richard Nixon was understandably worried when Knowland announced he would seek the California governorship instead of running again for the Senate. He was confronted with two deadly rivals in his home state, either of whom would be in a better position than he to control the big California GOP delegation in 1960. He had another dilemma: between the two, he could not afford to back the loser; if he supported neither, his stock would go down with California Republicans. One of them had to be eliminated. Knowland was too strong to be tackled, so Knight was chosen as the human sacrifice to Nixon's ambition.

THE SACRIFICAL GOAT: The proposal was simple: Knight should step out of the race for governor and accept instead the nomination for Knowland's seat in the Senate. This would be in the interests of GOP harmony and would avoid a rough-and-tumble primary fight next June. In addition, it was argued, the Eisenhower team in the Senate would be strengthened because Knight could be depended upon to back the President more strongly than Knowland had ever done.

Under this neat arrangement, Nixon could bless both candidates and keep all his fences up.

The problem was to make Knight hold still for the slaughter. He resisted for a time and as late as Oct. 28 declared: "My political plans are unchanged. I am a candidate to succeed myself . . ." He pledged a "crusading campaign" against Knowland in the primaries. Then he left for an undisclosed destination for a three-week rest on doctor's orders.

ENTER CHRISTOPHER: On the strength of Knight's insistence that he would stay in the race for governor, San Francisco's GOP Mayor George Christopher confidently announced his candidacy for Knowland's Senate seat. In the meantime, California Atty. Gen. Edmund G. Brown, the only Democrat to hold a state-wide office, announced his candidacy for the governorship as the best solution to "the present Republican alternative of a confused and wavering incumbent deserted by his own party, and a reactionary who views the state's highest office as only a pawn in Presidential power politics."

Early this month it was announced that Nixon's top California associates would head up Knowland's campaign organization with the support of the richest and most reactionary GOP figures in the state. On Nov. 5 Knight flew into Washington to submit formally to the axe.

After a 20-minute conference with the President and 35 minutes with Nixon, Knight announced his withdrawal from the governorship contest and insisted the decision was "my own." He replied sadly to reporters' badgering: "In politics, you sometimes change your mind." Nixon promptly endorsed him as candidate for the Senate, and said the switch was "in the best interests of the Republican Party and the people of the State of California." He didn't explain how the people were served by being deprived of even a limited choice of GOP candidates. Nixon also pledged full support to Knowland and said a Knowland-Knight ticket "would be the strongest the Republican Party could present in California."

THE "SLY FROG": Democrats saw the Nixon coup as helping them and were quite moral about the shabby treatment given Knight. Democratic natl. chairman Paul M. Butler said: "The Nixon squeeze play to get Goodwin Knight out of the governor's race was carried out by the power of the purse strings of the anti-labor contributors who finance the California GOP. They did not want to let the Republican Party select its candidates in a democratic way—in a primary—because that created a danger that Knight, who is not anti-labor enough to suit them, might possibly be in a position to block the union-busting legislation which Sen. Knowland advocates." He predicted a Democratic victory which would "leave only one big frog in the California Republican pond in 1960—the sly Mr. Nixon who engineered today's deal."

There was some speculation that there was a Knowland-Nixon deal which would account for Nixon's support of his arch-rival, with Knowland agreeing to stand aside for Nixon in 1960 and bide his time until 1964 or even 1968.

"STAB IN THE BACK": Nixon, in his haste to endorse Knight, apparently assumed Mayor Christopher would bow out of the Senate race. But Christopher, abroad when the switch was announced, was fighting mad and said from Israel: "I think the people of California are entitled to voice their opposition to this kind of political shenanigan. If Knight believes he does not have the support to beat Knowland in a governor's race, then he should retire gracefully from politics. I don't think the Senate race should be used as a camouflage for his inadequacies."

When he got home he called the Nixon move "a stab in the back," promised "one fine, grand fight" in the primaries and said: "The average voter has been let down by a few people calling the shots from the back room. It has disillusioned members of the Republican Party."

Knowland wisely refrained from any endorsement in the Senate race and said he had not made "any private commitment directly or indirectly."

The California Federation of Labor, which had supported Knight, denounced the "millionaire clique" in the state GOP for the "cold-blooded, sinister liquidation of Knight" and said he was done in because of his progressive labor record.

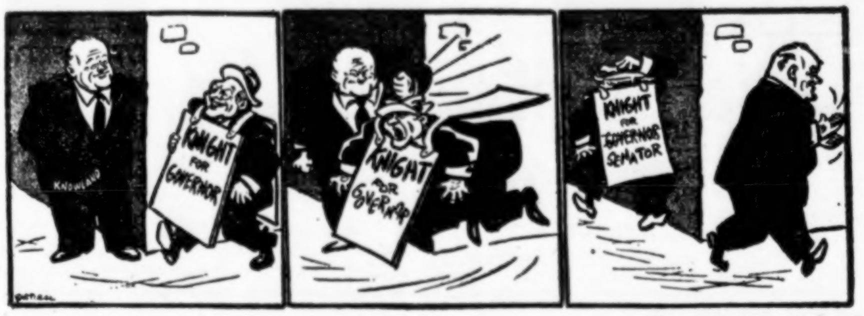
Delegates to an annual state GOP gathering were confused and many asked: "How are we going to run an anti-labor campaign for Knowland and a pro-labor campaign for Knight?"

THE NEGRO VOTE: The California **Eagle**, a Los Angeles Negro weekly, had this to say: "The ruthless manner in which Gov. Goodwin Knight was shoved out of the gubernatorial race won't help the GOP get Negro votes in this state.

"It is no secret that the Los Angeles **Times** spearheaded the drive to stab Knight in the back—the same **Times** that has always opposed Federal civil rights laws, that has sneered at the 1954 school decision and that has led the fight against city, state and county FEPC laws. The **Times'** anti-labor bias is as strong as its negative attitude on civil rights . . . Negro voters will find little to cheer about in a Republican Party dominated by those who entertain the **Times'** views on their racial and economic problems."

The New York **Times** observed that "there are three major Republican figures in California these days—and nobody ever knows from one moment to the next who's doing what, and to whom."

But it was clear that Richard Nixon still carries a switch-blade knife—and might cut himself with it yet.



San Francisco Chronicle

TRIPLE PLAY: MAYS TO CHRISTOPHER TO COMMON SENSE

Public pressure prevailed over private bigotry last week as Willie Mays, sensational center fielder of the new San Francisco Giants, was first denied, then sold a $37,500 home in the exclusive St. Francis Wood section of the Bay City. Builder Walter A. Gnesdiloff first agreed to sell the newly-constructed home to Mays but changed his mind when neighbors objected. Mayor George Christopher publicly deplored the discrimination and the City Hall switchboard was jammed for an hour with protests. The result: Gnesdiloff (above, r.) switched again and Mays signed the papers as his wife, Marguerite, looked on happily.

NEW MOVES PLANNED

Sobell pleas turned down by High Court

HOPE FOR A JUDICIAL review of the trial of Morton Sobell was all but ended by the U.S. Supreme Court on Nov. 5. The Court rejected without comment two appeals for review based on defense contentions that Sobell had been illegally kidnaped in Mexico and that perjured evidence had been used against him.

On Oct. 28 the Court rejected, also without comment, a motion for a new trial based on contentions that the trial jury had been prejudiced through improper cross-examination of Mrs. Ethel Rosenberg concerning her use of the Fifth Amendment before a grand jury.

Sobell is in Alcatraz; he has served eight years of a 30-year sentence.

In a footnote to the decision the Milwaukee **Journal** chided the Justice Dept. and former Atty. Gen. Brownell for releasing to **Look** magazine a department report purporting to answer defense arguments. The **Journal** said: "The issue is the gross impropriety and indiscretion of the Justice Department in so obviously propagandizing just as the matter comes before the high court."

THE WORK GOES ON: The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell which has organized his defense since 1953, said last week it would press the fight. It said: "Truth and justice cannot be brushed aside. During the past few years, despite all of the protestations by the prosecutors that justice had already been done, there has been a groundswell of public opinion that this trial has been tainted by fraud and perjury."

Sobell's lawyers have 15 days to file for a rehearing by the Court. If the motion is denied, another resort is an appeal for executive clemency by the President.

The Committee is planning a conference of national leaders in the near future to plan the next moves.

"COURT OF THE PEOPLE": Sobell's wife and mother in a joint statement declared: "It is an unworthy thing which our great Supreme Court has done . . . What can it fear when all we seek to establish is the truth itself? We turn now to the most powerful court, the court of the people. We know that those who have read the trial record, who have studied the facts in the case, will continue their efforts on Morton's behalf. All those eminent scientists and thinkers of our country who have expressed their support before have received no answer . . . History will award a verdict of innocent to Morton, but we must find that verdict now."

The Sobell Committee pointed out that the Court's action lets stand Justice Hugo Black's statement in 1953 that the Court "has never reviewed this [Rosenberg-Sobell] record and has never reaffirmed the fairness of the trial."

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SOUTHERN VOTE DRIVE STEPPED UP

New Civil Rights Board: Large hopes, vague duties

By Louis Burnham

WHILE NAACP LEADERS gathered in Atlanta the week-end of Nov. 16-17 ta launch a Southwide campaign to increase Negro voter registration, questions began to mount regarding the likely course of action of the newly-appointed Civil Rights Commission.

Initial reactions to the six-man commission appointed by President Eisenhower under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 were restrained and hopeful. But as the nation waited for announcement of the selection of the commission's full-time staff director, the New York **Times** called attention to the "broad and ill-defined mandate" under which the watchdog body will function. Seldom, noted the **Times**, "has a new Government body come into being with hopes so large and duties so vague."

Reinforcing the **Times'** fears was ex-Supreme Court Justice Stanley F. Reed, commission chairman, who met with the President in the White House and declared that the commission will function under "a very broad statute."

DECISIVE STEP: The strategy conference in Atlanta was the second major step in a double-barreled campaign to increase Southern Negro voting strength. Attended by 50 NAACP state chairmen and branch leaders from 11 Southern states, it called for "courageous efforts" to make "human dignity and first-class citizenship a reality in this generation."

The meeting followed by two weeks a similar right-to-vote gathering held in Memphis by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Dr. Martin Luther King. The Atlanta conferees declared that "the most decisive step in a democracy is the short step to the polling booth"; they planned a series of local actions which would take advantage of the federal protections thrown around the franchise in the Civil Rights Act.

ROY WILKINS
The goals are realistic

The act provides criminal penalties against private persons or public officials who deny citizens the right to vote or to have their votes counted. Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP Washington bureau, called upon Negroes to "make it plain throughout the Southland that a cell in jail is waiting for those who capriciously interfere with the right to vote because of a person's color."

NAACP GOAL: While this may be taken as an accurate statement of the aim of the NAACP, there was no evidence it reflected the intentions of the Eisenhower administration. The **Times** reported that "quite plainly the [civil rights] commission members themselves have formulated no clear views as to the nature of their job," but that "informed persons in and out of Government have advanced their ideas of what the group should try to accomplish." The range of activities envisioned by these "informed persons" extends from "fact finding" through "public airing of gross episodes of racial prejudice in the South" to working out "acceptable local accommodations."

The goals of the NAACP were more concrete. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, announced that the Atlanta conference had set itself the "realistic immediate goal" of increasing Negro registration to about 3,000,000 voters by 1960. Mitchell declared that it is "not visionary or foolish to look forward to the election of at least five, and maybe more Negro Representatives in the South by 1960." [Current registration of Negro voters is estimated at 1,238,000, only about 25% of the 4,980,000 Negroes of voting age in the 11 Southern states represented at the conference.]

MASS CAMPAIGN: Rev. King had previously announced that the goal of the SCLC is to double Negro registration in the next year and achieve a total of 5,000,000 voters by 1960. The SCLC adopted a first-year budget of $200,000 to be contributed by churches, civic organizations and labor unions. At the Memphis meeting Russell R. Lasley, vice president of the United Packinghouse Workers Union, presented Dr. King with the union's check for $11,000 for the educational aspects of the campaign.

The SCLC drive is scheduled to get underway Jan. 20 when 20 simultaneous mass meetings will be held throughout the South.

Elsewhere in the nation the civil rights battle was marked by continuing skirmishes and indecisive results. The Fourth Federal Circuit Court of Appeals reversed a District Court ruling and directed the lower court to order school authorities to make a prompt and reasonable start "toward integration" in Prince Edward County, Va., schools. The court ruled: "The fact that the schools might be closed if the order were enforced is no reason for not enforcing it. A person may not be denied his right under the Constitution because of action taken or threatened in defiance of such rights."

JIMCROW IN NORTH: In New York Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, told more than 400 social workers, educators and civic leaders at the fall conference of United Neighborhood Houses that "one of the most disturbing symptoms that have recently appeared" among the city's teachers is an "organized and sanctioned effort" to avoid serving in public schools with large numbers of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils.

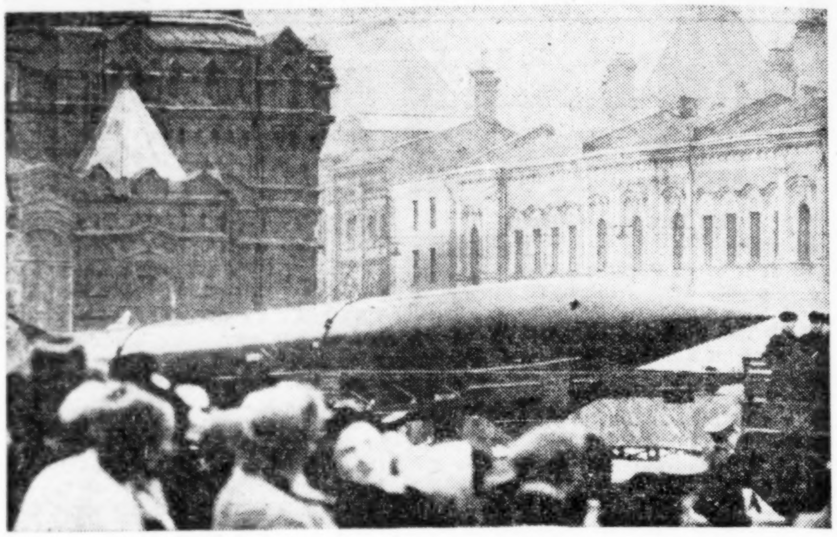
The Chicago NAACP branch announced plans for a city-wide conference in early December to deal with the question of segregation in the schools of that city.

Chicago and New York are two of nine Northern cities in which one-fourth of the schools have a non-white majority of pupils, according to a recent report of the American Jewish Congress. Other cities are: Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Cincinnati and Newark.

Bundles for Britain dept.

MANY BRITONS were annoyed at a recently announced offer of United States' aid for the British peerage. An American woman, it appears, wrote to C.F.J. Hankinson, editor of **Debrett**, asking him to "recommend some titled man of really fine character who was living in straightened circumstances," as she would rather devote part of her income to helping him than spend her money on other things.

—Warren (Ohio)
Tribune Chronicle, 10/10.



VISITORS GOT THE POINT
Moscow's stogey-shaped, sharp-nosed rocket on parade Nov. 7

Pipes of peace

(Continued from Page 1)

ernmental approval though the Prime Minister made it clear the proposed meeting would have no official auspices.

Lester B. Pearson, Canada's former Secy. of State for External Affairs and this year's winner of the Nobel prize, also approved the proposed meeting provided the scientists spoke in no official capacity. Eaton had deplored the fact that the conference would not be held in the U.S. because scientists from China would be barred, but Pearson said it should be held either in the U.S. or U.S.S.R., "the countries with the most power to wage war and the most responsibility in establishing peace and security."

An editorial in the Toronto **Financial Post** calling for "peaceful cooperation and peaceful competition" said: "The response to the Russians should be positive and friendly."

HOPES AND FEARS: Behind the hopes there were grim fears. Harrison Brown, professor of geochemistry at the California Institute of Technology, in an article in the November **Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists** saw industrialization and technology spreading around the world, promising higher standards of living.

But he also warned that for industrialized countries atom bombs are cheap and easy to make, that the fall-out of unrestricted testing might increase dangerously unless curbed. The dangers of nuclear war, he wrote, "come close to being obvious even to the many among us who don't think very much." He disputed those in the U.S. government who think limited wars with "clean" nuclear weapons are possible. Brown said he believed "the lines of demarcation between tactical and strategic, and betwen large explosions and small ones, are exceedingly thin and they are destined one day to vanish. Once nuclear weapons are used in the field, I believe that we must expect that all persons and all installations are possible targets."

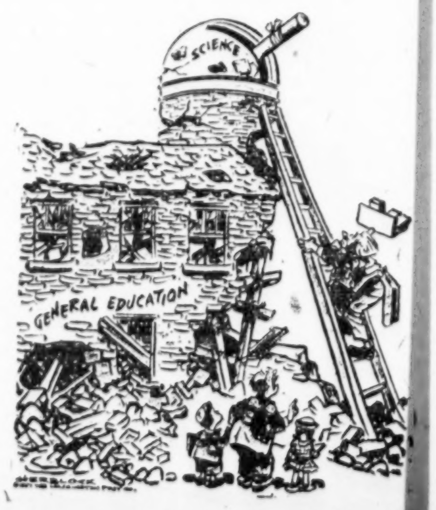
The sputniks seemed to be awakening many Americans from the long nightmare of spy scares in which Julius and Ethel Rosenberg lost their lives and countless others had their careers and families shattered. Harry Truman and Walter Lippmann were among those who blamed McCarthyism for the U.S. lag. John Lear, science editor of the **Saturday Review**, wrote: "If intelligent people ever have believed the folklore about Russian spies stealing the A-bomb, the H-bomb, and the jet airplane it would seem time for them to swallow their pride and admit to themselves that they have been taken in."

THE ALTERNATIVES: Overseas the reaction was swift and vehement. The London **New Statesman** said: "The sputniks open a new chapter in mankind's mastery of matter; can we really be foolish enough to treat them merely as another stage in the cold war? . . . Surely the first thing to understand is that Western policy all these years has been based on the assumption of Western superiority and it is now certainly out of date. We have literally no other choice than coexistence or destruction."

The Paris daily **Liberation** called Nov. 3—the day Sputnik II was launched—one of the most important dates in the history of mankind, marking this as "the year the universe was opened to man." In a series of articles on page one, **Liberation** summed up the sputniks' meaning in these fields:

- **Strategy:** Without the cost of a single life the Russians have demonstrated that "communism cannot be overthrown by arms." If, as the Russian say, they are prepared to use 125 intercontinental rockets to launch more sputniks they must have "ten or a hundred times that number available for defense." What Dulles does not know is that "the only guarantee for Americans today is that the Soviets will never be the first to press the button."
- **Politics:** "The overthrow of the entire world policy followed since Hiroshima." Americans must now negotiate on the basis of equality.
- **Economy:** A satellite can re-map the world's resources of water to make deserts fertile, minerals to produce new wealth in underdeveloped regions.
- **Education:** Budgets for tanks, planes and other obsolete weapons are useless. France must return to the Republic's "Golden rule": one-sixth of the nation's expenditures for education.

In Washington, though, it seemed there was no one to translate the message of the sputniks. The President's answers made it seem he did not hear the cosmic questions. He talked in archaic terms of bases, planes and strategies, already obsolete. To Secy. of State Dulles the entry of mankind into the universe was to be answered by possibly surrendering "small, marginal freedoms." While around the world people talked of storming the heavens, Secy. of Commerce Weeks proposed a budget of "less butter and more guns."



Herblock in Washington Po
"Hey—don't forget the bottom part, too."

O'CONNOR HITS BACK

ECLC abolition campaign makes Walter see red

LAST SEPTEMBER the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, headed by Harvey O'Connor and Corliss Lamont, inaugurated an "Abolition Campaign" aimed at putting the House Committee on Un-American Activities out of business. The new drive was based on the recent Supreme Court decision in the Watkins case which challenged the authority and conduct of the committee.

The campaign was opened with a public meeting in New York City and has been followed by a series of public meetings across the country conducted during a coast-to-coast tour by ECLC executive director Clark Foreman. There was enough immediate response from at least 14 states to cause the Un-American Committee to issue on Nov. 12 a special report charging the Abolition Campaign to be a "communist plot."

WALTER HELPS: ECLC chairman O'Connor said the charge by Committee chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) "further substantiates" the need for abolishing the committee. His full statement follows:

"The charges . . . by Congressman Walter are false and typical of the unfair practices of the committee which he heads. The charges are backed by no evidence and cannot be. They have been brought out now to preserve McCarthyism when it is most under attack. Congessman Walter's charges will serve only to stimulate the campaign to eliminate unconstitutional practices by Congressional committees.

What else is new, Doc?

DR. ROBERT J. AGNEW, professor of industry at University of Pittsburgh, addressing the wives of 38 executives, declared:

"If your husband goes to a cocktail party and gets cozy with a blonde, it isn't because he's a wolf at heart, but because he's trying to get recognition."

"The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has from its beginning six years ago concerned itself solely with the support of the Bill of Rights in this country. It is manifestly absurd to call such a program communistic or the committee a Communist front. Yet that does not hinder Congressman Walter and Senator Eastland from trying to smear anyone who criticizes them.

CITIZENS' RIGHTS: "Congressman Walter, in issuing an attack on the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, further substantiates the need for abolishing the House Un-American Activties Committee and the inquisitorial powers of other Congressional committees. The practice of using Congress as a pedestal from which to issue false statements and abuse private citizens and organizations is thoroughly undemocratic and now generally recognized as having set back the progress of the country in the last ten years.

"The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee recognizes the legitimate need of Congress to investigate for proposed legislation. It is, however, most important to remember that the Supreme Court has said that all government operations must respect the rights of citizens guaranteed by our Constitution."

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"We Are Facing A Danger Unlike Any Danger That Has Ever Existed..."

First of a Series of Statements For Americans in A Nuclear Age

A deep uneasiness exists inside Americans as we look out on the world.

It is not that we have suddenly become unsure of ourselves in a world in which the Soviet Union has dramatically laid claim to scientific supremacy.

Nor that the same propulsion device that can send a man-made satellite into outer space can send a missile carrying a hydrogen bomb across the ocean in eighteen minutes.

Nor is the uneasiness only the result of headlines that tell of trouble between Turkey and Syria and a war that could not be limited to the Middle East.

The uneasiness that exists inside Americans has to do with the fact that we are not living up to our moral capacity in the world.

We have been living half a life. We have been developing our appetites, but we have been starving our purposes. We have been concerned with bigger incomes, bigger television screens, and bigger cars — but not with the big ideas on which our lives and freedoms depend.

We are facing a danger unlike any danger that has ever existed. In our possession and in the possession of the Russians are more than enough nuclear explosives to put an end to the life of man on earth.

Our uneasiness is the result of the fact that our approach to the danger is unequal to the danger. Our response to the challenge of today's world seems out of joint. The slogans and arguments that belong to the world of competitive national sovereignties — a world of plot and counter-plot — no longer fit the world of today or tomorrow.

Just in front of us opens a grand human adventure into outer space. But within us and all around us is the need to make this world whole before we set out for other ones. We can earn the right to explore other planets only as we make this one safe and fit for human habitation.

The sovereignty of the human community comes before all others — before the sovereignty of groups, tribes, or nations. In that community, man has natural rights. He has the right to live and to grow, to breathe unpoisoned air, to work on uncontaminated soil. He has the right to his sacred nature.

If what nations are doing has the effect of destroying these natural rights, whether by upsetting the delicate balances on which life depends, or fouling the air, or devitalizing the land, or tampering with the genetic integrity of man himself; then it becomes necessary for people to restrain and tame the nations.

Indeed, the test of a nation's right to survive today is measured not by the size of its bombs or the range of its missiles, but by the size and range of its concern for the human community as a whole.

What You Can Do

1. *What you say and what you do make public opinion. Let the people who serve you in public office know of your apprehensions and your hopes. Above all, make your ideas known to the President of the United States.*
2. *You can join the signers of this statement.*
3. *You can help make it possible for this statement and other statements like it to appear in newspapers throughout the country and the world.*
4. *You can talk to your friends and neighbors about the points in this message. You can discuss these matters in your church or synagogue, your club, your school, your union.*
5. *You can fill out the two coupons below: Send one to the President and the other to the National Committee For a Sane Nuclear Policy.*

There can be no true security for America unless we can exert leadership in these terms, unless we become advocates of a grand design that is directed to the large cause of human destiny.

There can be no true security for America unless we can establish and keep vital connections with the world's people, unless there is some moral grandeur to our purposes, unless what we do is directed to the cause of human life and the free man.

There is much that America has said to the world. But the world is still waiting for us to say and do the things that will in deed and in truth represent our greatest strength.

What are these things?

FIRST, AS IT CONCERNS THE PEACE, AMERICA CAN SAY:

That we pledge ourselves to the cause of peace with justice on earth, and that there is no sacrifice that we are not prepared to make, nothing we will not do to create such a just peace for all peoples;

That we are prepared to support the concept of a United Nations with adequate authority under law to prevent aggression, adequate authority to compel and enforce disarmament, adequate authority to settle disputes among nations according to principles of justice.

NEXT, AS IT CONCERNS NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AMERICA CAN SAY:

That the earth is too small for intercontinental ballistic missiles and nuclear bombs, and that the first order of business for the world is to bring both under control;

That the development of satellites or rocket stations and the exploration of outer space must be carried on in the interests of the entire human community through a pooling of world science.

AS IT CONCERNS NUCLEAR TESTING, AMERICA CAN SAY:

That because of the grave unanswered questions with respect to nuclear test explosions — especially as it concerns the contamination of air and water and food, and the injury to man himself — we are calling upon all nations to suspend such explosions at once;

That while the abolition of testing will not by itself solve the problem of peace or the problem of armaments, it enables the world to eliminate immediately at least one real and specific danger. Also, that the abolition of testing gives us a place to begin on the larger question of armaments control, for the problems in monitoring such tests are relatively uncomplicated.

AS IT CONCERNS OUR CONNECTIONS TO THE REST OF MANKIND, AMERICA CAN SAY:

That none of the differences separating the governments of the world are as important as the membership of all peoples in the human family;

That the big challenge of the age is to develop the concept of a higher loyalty — loyalty by man to the human community;

That the greatest era of human history on earth is within reach of all mankind, that there is no area that cannot be made fertile or habitable, no disease that cannot be fought, no scarcity that cannot be conquered;

That all that is required for this is to re-direct our energies, re-discover our moral strength, re-define our purposes.

SIGNED

MICHAEL AMRINE
Science Writer

CLEVELAND AMORY
Author, "The Proper Bostonians"

ROGER N. BALDWIN

DR. JOHN C. BENNETT
Dean of the Faculty, Union Theological Seminary

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Professor of Geochemistry, California Institute of Technology

HARRY A. BULLIS
Chairman of the Board, General Mills Corporation

***NORMAN COUSINS**
Editor, The Saturday Review

***THE REV. HENRY HITT CRANE**
Detroit

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Chairman, Federation of American Scientists

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OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN II
Playwright

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BRIGADIER GENERAL HUGH B. HESTER

***DR. HOMER JACK**
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JAMES JONES
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ELLIOT NICHOLS
Civic Leader

JAMES G. PATTON
President, National Farmers Union

***CLARENCE PICKETT**
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Marsh Chapel, Boston University

***DR. HUGH WOLFE**
Chairman, Department of Physics, Cooper Union, New York

JERRY VOORHIS
Executive Director, Cooperative League of America

(The signers of this statement are acting in their individual capacity and not as representatives of organizations or as members of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Names preceded by an asterisk indicate members of the organizing committee.)

CLIP AND MAIL TO:

PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I respectfully urge you to go before the United Nations and propose:

That nuclear test explosions, missiles and outer-space satellites be considered apart from other disarmament problems;

That, as there is now agreement in principle on the need for supervision and inspection necessary to verify a cessation of tests, all nuclear test explosions by all countries be stopped immediately and that the U. N. then proceed with the mechanics necessary for monitoring this cessation;

That missiles and outer-space satellites be brought under United Nations-monitored control, and that there be a pooling of world science for space exploration under the United Nations.

Now, more than ever before, mankind waits for some sign that it can be released from the terror of sudden attack and the grip of armaments. We look to you to give form and direction to that aspiration.

Sincerely,

Name____________________

Address____________________

CLIP AND MAIL TO:

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
FOR A SANE NUCLEAR POLICY
P. O. BOX 1750
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Note: Make contributions to "Sane Nuclear Policy"

☐ I am enclosing $________ as my contribution toward advancing the work of the Committee and in helping to place this message in other towns and cities throughout the United States and the world. (This statement is available for reprint in your local paper.)

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202 East 44th Street New York 16, N. Y.

THE KNIGHT CRAWLERS OF ALABAMA

Why they burned a cross at Claude Williams' home

Rev. Claude Williams is no stranger to Guardian readers. As director of the Institute of Applied Religion he has conducted his practical ministry primarily in the deep South, among its sharecroppers and poor folk, both white and Negro. He helped organize and develop the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, enraging plantation owners and their minions. He was driven from one church to another, suffered brutal flogging and jailings. In May, 1955, the 167th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, meeting in Los Angeles, sustained the action of the Detroit Presbytery which had unfrocked Rev. Williams more than a year previously. Rev. Williams was accused of holding "doctrinal views which are contrary to the Holy Scriptures and to the creed confessed in this church."

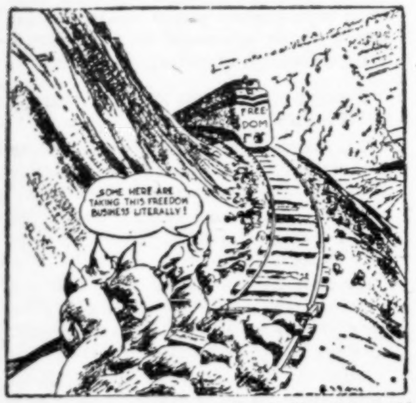
One of the "turbulent priests" of our times, Rev. Williams has recently offended another group of doctrinaires, those guardians of orthodoxy known in Alabama as the Ku Klux Klan. The story of his latest heresy and its aftermath follows:

By Rev. Claude Williams

HELENA, ALA.

MY FIRST INDICATION that anything unusual was happening was the deafening screech of automobile horns. The dog had been barking, but so had the hounds of neighbors on either side of us, and I had dismissed it as a dog-party. But the noise of the cars was something else again. I stopped baby-tending for a moment (the grandchildren were with us) and went to the window expecting to witness a terrible smashup. Instead, I saw the lights of eight or 10 cars racing away at high speed.

Immediately I went to the front door. All the outdoors was aglow with a light from a high flame that burned at the roadside entrance of our house, some 200 feet away. Now I knew that this was no burning bush and that God was not speaking out of it. This was a flaming cross, symbol of hate, a "message" from the Ku Klux Klan.


FREE DOM
SOME HERE ARE TAKING THIS FREEDOM BUSINESS LITERALLY!

Pious in Memphis World

THERE IS NO SECRET: I went into the bedroom and told Mrs. Williams what had happened. We chatted a bit about the cowardly haste with which the kluxers sped away and the boisterous noise, intended to inform the neighbors that we were on their "list". We wondered what we had done to "deserve" this visit from the local knights. To be sure, we had never made a secret of our belief in law and order, in political, social and economic justice for all people—in integration. And we had tried to match our faith with works. But what was the immediate cause of the cross-burning? Of course—it was the meeting the past Tuesday night.

That night we had gathered in the Negro YMCA in Birmingham. There were ministers and laymen, Negro and white, men and women, several students from the colleges, and a few children. We knew as we entered the building that the kluxers had "discovered" the meeting, about which there had never been any secret; we saw them milling around the outside, their faces distorted with rage. Nevertheless, we proceeded to discuss what we could do to halt the scourge of hate and terror and violence which has risen to plague the people of the South—these people and this land we love.

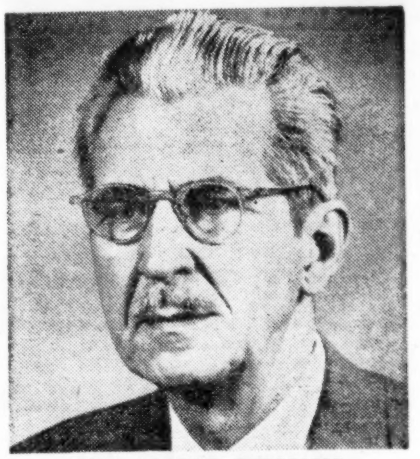
THE ALTERNATIVES: It was not long before a score of kluxers escorted two policemen into the meeting. They commanded the cops to order us to adjourn, segregate, or be arrested.

There was never a moment's question in anybody's mind about the first imperative: we would not herd ourselves like sheep on two sides of an imaginary fence. We would adjourn—or be arrested. An attorney stood before us and said: "If any of you mind being arrested or for any reason cannot afford to be arrested, you should leave immediately." Some felt they had to leave, and there was anger in their faces as they did.

About 20 of us remained seated, except that we moved closer together. The attorney stated that bonds could be arranged in a matter of minutes, that though we were meeting in violation of a city ordinance, the ordinance was unconstitutional. Kluxers jammed the door; the cops demanded an immediate answer. Our chairman, a minister, called the police commissioner who admitted the pressure of the Klan and repeated his ultimatum: **segregate, adjourn, or jail.**

VIOLENCE IN THE AIR: We huddled and talked fast. A majority agreed to adjourn—and to arrange another meeting. To be arrested would only provide the "proof" the Birmingham **News** sought to support the headlines they were running in a front-page series of feature articles: "Reds Behind Racial Unrest in South" . . . "Racial Events in South Follow Red Pattern." The Peoples Institute of Applied Religion had been twice mentioned in this series. And so we decided to adjourn.

As we left we could sense the violence in the air. The klansmen had swarmed all over the "Y", badgering employees with menacing questions. They huddled about as we left the building. We knew they had taken down the license numbers of the cars of all who had attended the meeting. Just outside of Birmingham, as we drove toward home with some Negro friends, a station wagon full of kluxers sped by us. Would they be waiting to "greet" us when we arrived? Would they have rounded up other local brethren to make it a really gala affair? We wondered; we drove on; and we sang: **"We'll understand it better bye and bye."**



REV. CLAUDE WILLIAMS
A time for hate to stop

THEY ARE TOO LATE: There were no klansmen there that night as we got home. But now, several nights later, there was the fiery cross. I took it down, of course; pushed it over with a pole-like stick, took the ground-end and dragged it up to the house.

If the kluxers burned the cross to inform me that preaching and practicing brotherhood are unpopular in the South, they were late: I know that already. If they were trying to scare me and run me out, they were again late: like any sensible person, I can scare—but I won't run. I won't run because for generations decent Southerners have been running from this problem and there's no solution in flight.

What is to be feared most is not merely the robes, the burning crosses of the Klan. Even their violence (they have murdered people who differed with them and they will murder again) is but a horrible symptom of the sickness which must be cured in the South and the nation if democracy is to live. That is the sickness of prejudice, hate, unreason.

NOW IS THE TIME: I do not have all the answers; nor do I know who has. I know that violence is in the air in my beloved South and no one, colored or white, knows what will happen next. I know that great catastrophe portends unless **all** who believe in democracy decide that now is the time for fear to leave off and courage to begin; for hate to stop and love take hold; for prejudice to cease and reason prevail.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Williams and I feel somewhat complimented when we view the burnt remnant of a cross in our yard. It tells us that the devil is witnessing to our efforts by registering opposition.

* * *

AT VETERANS DAY CELEBRATION

Faubus gets cold shoulder in New Orleans

Special to the Guardian

NEW ORLEANS

THE LOUISIANA American Legion had Arkansas' Gov. Faubus here "to honor" Veterans Day. Less than 1,000 attended the "mass" meeting at City Hall steps. Applause was faint. Most of the Legion members and their families stood throughout with arms folded. Representatives of two Negro Posts in New Orleans, with their auxiliaries, stood as if carved in stone.

Faubus read the first ten Amendments: "I won't read the 14th." Perhaps he hadn't expected to see Negro Legionnaires. Negroes in the South were not admitted to membership till 1945, when Legion Labor Post members jarred the door open (the Legion abolished Labor Posts right afterward).

DUCKS AND TRASH: Perhaps another wet blanket was the absence (duck hunting) of Col. deLesseps Morrison, New Orleans' mayor, an ardent Legionnaire, and all other city officials but one, Glenn P. Clasen, acting mayor. (Clasen is head of trash and garbage collection for the city.) Louisiana's Congressman Hebert introduced the speaker as a symbol of a free people. Papers said the customary "key to the city" was a miniature.

Smash anti-climax came when Faubus topped his harangue with the statement that "this great land of ours has more freedom than any country in the world!" He paused for the expected cheers. There was dead silence.

The Legion wasn't much in evidence that night when Gov. Faubus was to lead a parade. Neither was Faubus; no one will say why. Negro Posts boycotted the parade by agreement. Bystanders voiced satisfaction on seeing that the Federal troops and Marine Corps were arranged like a checkerboard, black, white, black white, in full regalia, helmets and guns.

MEANY NO SPOKESMAN

Du Bois appeal to hear Negroes unheeded at UN

IS THE SITUATION of the Negro in the U.S. "one phase of a great advance" or "threatening evidence of a great retreat" by the Government from its widely-trumpeted aim of equality?

The first contention was made by George Meany, AFL-CIO president, in a speech before the United Nations Human Rights Committee at the height of the Little Rock school crisis. On Oct. 10, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, the eminent scholar and historian, in a letter to the entire membership of the committee, contradicted Meany's optimistic diagnosis and made the second contention. Du Bois' letter was widely carried in the Negro press, but not till Nov. 1 did it bring a response from the alternate U.S. representative in the UN, Mrs. Oswald B. Lord.

Meany, Du Bois contended, had no right to speak for Negroes, because "no institution has fought harder and longer to degrade and retard Negroes than the American Federation of Labor—which Meany heads."

THE REAL PROBLEM: Dr. Du Bois asked: "Since the United States has sent no Negro to your Committee to speak from his own knowledge about his own people, is it too much to ask that the United Nations itself invite some Negro to address them on this problem which is not local nor merely internal but affects the majority of the peoples of the earth?"

The problem, in Du Bois' eyes, is "one of sixteen million Americans who are deprived of their rights as full citizens and whose fathers for 181 years and more have been so deprived. We have been slaves, serfs and members of a lower caste, for a long time with 'no rights which the white man was bound to respect.' Even today we are still discriminated against in work and wage, in homes and schools, in civil and political affairs, in courts and jails, in social and philanthropic effort and in public treatment and esteem."

MRS. LORD'S REPLY: Mrs. Lord's acknowledgement failed to deal with Dr. Du Bois' objections to Meany's remarks or his fitness to speak for Negroes. There is a Negro on the U.S. delegation to the UN this year, she pointed out: "Mr. Genoa Washington of Chicago," and "Mr. Washington is not sitting on the Third [Human Rights] Committee [but] he takes a very active part in delegation meetings and is already well known and well liked by the delegates of other countries who are attending this session of the General Assembly."

Dr. Du Bois, in a reply, said he knew of Washington's post but wondered "why he was not asked to represent his people before the Human Rights Committee, instead of Mr. Meany." At GUARDIAN press time no further word had been received from Mrs. Lord.

Dr. Du Bois in 1947 authored another appeal of American Negroes to the UN on behalf of the NAACP, of which he was then director of special research. His letter to the UN pointed out that today he does not represent the NAACP or any other organization but speaks "as a simple citizen who has devoted the larger part of a century to the situation of Negroes in the United States."

BRITAIN'S PENSIONERS SQUEEZED BY INFLATION

'Eat or keep warm?'—they can't do both

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

FROM SINGAPORE to Los Angeles, the canine cargo in Sputnik II raised howls of tender indignation from free-world foes of cruelty. The American Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals deplored a Soviet action which "cannot possibly advance human health and welfare," the president of New York's Bide-A-Wee Home for stray pets protested against Soviet "inhumanity," and Britain's League against Cruel Sports urged UN repudiation of "these Russian fiends."

When British dog-lovers called for a nationwide "one minute's silence" for the dog in the Sputnik, London newspapers—swamped with readers' letters mostly condemning the Muscovite scientists—thought this a little strong. The **News Chronicle**, noting the continued British H-bomb tests at Christmas Island, commented: "Sometimes I think we should call for one minute's silence for humanity."

Moscow Radio, in a burst of irony, suggested a form of appeal which British tenderhearts might issue "to all humanitarians who are bombing Yemeni villages, shooting nationalists in Algeria, persecuting Negroes in Little Rock and exterminating the indigenous people of S. Africa." From East Germany came a suggestion that the tenderhearts might say a word about the 374 leading lights of the Nazi legal system who now occupy similar positions in W. Germany, including judges and prosecutors who under Hitler sent people to death for listening to the BBC and hiding Jewish children.

$5.60 A WEEK: On the same day 3,000 branch delegates of the Natl. Fedn. of Old Age Pension Assns. met in annual convention in a hall across from Parliament, seeking to draw attention to some inhumanity nearer home. For two years of steadily rising prices, 5,000,000 British pensioners have received $5.60 a week ($9.10 for a couple). The pensioners' organization, which they maintain with dues of a penny a week, has been fighting for a pitiful $8.40 a week for all. The convention met in some excitement as the "Queen's Speech" to Parliament had indicated something would be done. During the afternoon, Tory Pensions Minister Boyd-Carpenter was to tell Commons what it would be.

The principle of old age pensions was won here in 1911 after a fight that began in 1898, and in the "welfare state" the pension rose to one-third of the cost of maintaining a man in jail. One in every eight of Britain's population is of pensionable age (men 65, women 60) but only about half choose to retire at that age on such terms. Most of the pension money comes from the weekly contributions which all workers (and their employers) must make, covering also medical care, industrial injury and sickness insurance.

If the contributions have not been paid 50 weeks a year for 10 years, or if the recipient continues to work and earn over $7 a week, the pension is reduced. If "extreme hardship" on the pension can be proved, a Natl. Assistance Board will supplement it by a few shillings, but recipients of this bounty are "means-tested" at their homes about four times a year to ensure that they are complete paupers.

EAT OR KEEP WARM: Pensioners exist mainly on bread, cheese and potatoes with microscopic quantities of tea and margarine and of the cheapest vegetables, fish and meat. For badly-needed medicines they often cannot afford the "prescription fees" which the Tories imposed upon the "free" national Health Service. In the dank winters they face the daily question, "Eat or keep warm?"—they cannot do both. (In the winter of '54 the medical officer of St. Pancras, London, said some 500 old people in the borough had died of starvation and cold.)

Prices of everything they buy have risen since the $5.60 pension was set: bread 20%, coal 8%, vegetables 25% in the 18 months from January 1956; postage 10%, rent 9% and bus and train fares 20% in that period and more since. To a recent Tory claim that "living costs are steady," a pensioner cracked: "If they're steady now, God help us when they move!"

Asked what they would spend the extra $2.80 on if they won it, pensioners at the convention indicated the extent of their deprivation of whatever makes life worth living. "A few new clothes," said one; "my husband and I have had none since he retired six years ago." "A few more cigarettes than I can get for two-and-fourpence" (the government had made this special "voucher" allowance to smokers.) "Some lino for the floor—it's worn right through." "I'd ride the bus sometimes to visit friends—it costs as much as my whole day's food allowance to go to my daughter's."

The replies suggested that loneliness was the worst thing they suffered from: "We just can't afford to keep up with our friends."

CRIES OF "SHAME!": At the conference one delegate was reading a pamphlet on old age pensions in the U.S.S.R., where workers make no contributions and all men at 60, women at 55 (lower for more arduous jobs) receive a pension of from 50 to 100% of their highest average earnings over a five-year period. If they choose to continue working they get half the minimum pension (300 rubles a month) unless earning over 1,000 rubles.

The old folk, many of whom hobbled in painfully on sticks, showed their never-say-die spirit in speeches and in music-hall songs. Then the delegation to Parliament—Fedn. secy. Melling and north-country parson Nuttall—came back with the news. The two-and-fourpenny tobacco allowance had been taken away; the pension was raised $1.40, $2.10 for couples—but at the same time Natl. Assistance payments would be cut. Workers' and employers' weekly contributions to pay for it would be raised to $1.35 and $1.23.

The hall was filled with cries of "Shame!" Stormy applause greeted the acceptance of this "challenge, this declaration of war by the government on us old people" and the urgings to "mobilize the trade unions for industrial action" as the only strategy to obtain justice. Young trade-unionist allies took up the fight in the Commons lobby half an hour later. In the evening, old folk and trade unionists marched together in a torchlight demonstration past the plushy stores on Oxford Street, in which pensioners are far too poor ever to shop.

FACING THE FACTS: To the repeated Tory and press questions as to where the money for $8.40 pensions "is going to come from," pensioners sometimes reply: "The same place as for Prince Philip's tour," or "the same as for Suez—they found millions then to decide which gang of thieves should run the canal." More often they point to the expenditure on "defense" measures which demonstrably wouldn't defend even if any aggression were in the cards.

Yet in the recent economic debate in Commons discussing the danger of inflation, only one Labourite—Konni Zilliacus—even mentioned the connection with the country's staggering "defense" bill. The inflation danger could not be dealt with unless this bill were cut by half or two-thirds, he said. Zilliacus pleaded with Labour leaders to realize that a Labour government, unless it would "contract out of or end the arms race," would be just as helpless to "carry out our social promises."

Britain's old folk, conscious that a Labour government is their only hope, will continue battering at the smug party leaders' doors—with ever-increasing support from trade unionists, who will some day be old themselves and now must bear a crushing burden to pay less-than-subsistence pensions.

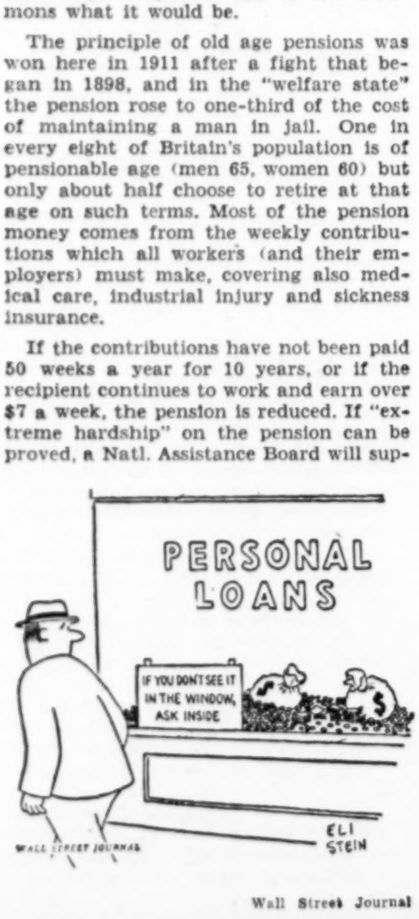
Meanwhile kindly gentlefolk will continue wailing for Sputnik dogs. But some of them, when their paper makes occasional reference to the old people's plight, will write letters-to-the-editor (as a recent **Observer** reader did) suggesting that all should sacrifice for the old folk all the old clothes and bric-a-brac for which they have no use.

GUNS AND BUTTER DON'T MAKE A PROPER MEAL

Delegates at the Old Age Pension Assn. rally in London Nov. 7 paraded to the mike to give their opinion of the Tory government.

News wanted

The Natl. Fedn. of Old Age Pensions, 15 Blakey Moor, Blackburn, Lancs., England, would like to establish contact with similar groups in the U.S. Address secy. Ernest Melling. The GUARDIAN also would like to have more news of U.S. pension groups, the better to report their activities.



Wall Street Journal

Beep, beep, beep, ...

Dr. Richard Woolley, the Astronomer Royal, who said last year that space travel was "utter bilge," leaves for Moscow next Monday to lecture to Russian scientists.

His assistant, Dr. Olin Eggen, said last night: "Dr. Woolley will have lots to tell the Russians."

—London **Daily Express**, 11/6

●

Detroit, Nov. 7 (AP)—Dog officer Harold F. Baker of suburban Huntington Woods today obtained a warrant charging Laika, the dog passenger of Russia's Sputnik II, with being at large without a dog license.

The warrant charges Laika was within the city limits early Thursday as Sputnik passed overhead. The warrant is returnable in Justice Court November 26—if Baker is able to serve it.

—Louisville **Courier-Journal**, 11/8

●

Indianapolis, Nov. 8 (AP) — Just to be ready if visitors from outer space should land on his department store roof, J. R. Harbison, director of promotion issued this bulletin to employees yesterday:

"Please notify the credit department at once so we can issue chargaplates and extend them all the courtesies that L. S. Ayres & Co. is noted for. Do not offer, however, any COD or delivery service."

—**N.Y. Journal-American**, 11/8

Well, Sputnik's still up there, a reminder of Russia's triumph in a race the United States was too proud to enter.

—Editorial in San Mateo **Times**, 11/1

●

Quote yesterday from Nottinghamshire road safety chief Mr. A. E. Singleton: "I can't understand all this fuss about one Russian dog when in our county in three months 28 dogs were killed in road accidents."

—London **Daily Express**, 11/6

The Achilles heel of Soviet Russia

REPORTER: You said that one of the reasons for the recent Soviet technological achievements is that they have been concentrating for 40 years on this military aspect of technology.

DULLES: If I said they were concentrating just upon the military, that was too narrow a statement of the case. They have been concentrating primarily upon scientific and technical work, which is largely utilized by the military, although not exclusively so. But they do not allow many of their youth, I think any of their youth, to go to theological seminaries.

—From Secy. Dulles' press conference, reported in the N.Y. **Times**, 11/6

The war drums

(Continued from Page 1)

number of planes on the alert to one-third of our effectiveness." On Nov. 15, Defense Secy. Neil H. McElroy said at a Paris NATO meeting that the U.S. will seek more missile launching sites closer to the Soviet Union.

ADLAI CUT IN: Adding to the sense of emergency, Dulles invited Adlai Stevenson to help formulate proposals he and the President would make at the mid-December NATO heads-of-government conference in Paris. The move was likened to President Roosevelt's appointment of Republicans Henry L. Stimson and Frank Knox as heads of the defense mobilization on the eve of World War II.

Stevenson, acknowledging "the gravity of our situation in the world," agreed to be a consultant but prudently declined to become involved in the actual formulation of policy, which would amount to a Democratic endorsement of it in advance.

The speeches and actions were the government's answer to the Sputniks and Khrushchev's speech on the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. They made clear that Washington still clings to the Truman-Acheson Doctrine of "containment of communism" as developed by President Eisenhower and Dulles.

They completely ignored the sentiment of the neutrals, overlooked the real reason why its allies play along with the U.S. and the hard facts to which the allies themselves have become reconciled. Above all, they misinterpreted the significance of the Sputniks and Khrushchev's speech.

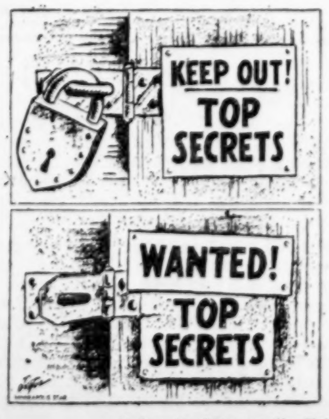
IRON FIST: Washington's post-World War II policy has been to demonstrate U.S. military supremacy so unmistakably as to force an abject submission by Moscow to U.S. terms, to roll back spreading socialism to within Soviet boundaries, to maintain and increase U.S. economic dominance abroad. Manuel Gottlieb, Kansas University economics professor, underscores this in a recent letter in the Lawrence (Kan.) **Daily Journal-World**:

"Out national policy was premised . . . on the assumption that the American lead in atomic warfare would remain or even be intensified; that Soviet urban areas could be rendered subject to destruction from a ring of bases; and that mobilization of Western military power through NATO would either bring the Soviets to terms—**our** terms—or face them with . . . atomic destruction . . . We would 'parley'—'negotiate'—only when we were strong enough to dictate terms."

But, even if Washington stubbornly refused to admit it, its policy from Truman through Eisenhower has failed. Socialism has spread to China and other parts of the world. Soviet nuclear power today is, if not superior, at least equal to America's. As Khrushchev told UP correspondent Henry Shapiro on Nov. 15, Soviet rockets can destroy NATO bases and reach the American continent. He said the U.S. "won't succeed in making war" and Russia won't start one, although "some lunatics" might.

Even George F. Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow who drew the first "containment" blueprint, "saw no reason to believe the Soviet Union wanted a general war" and thought that disarmament attempts before removing "political differences and rivalries was to put the cart before the horse" (N.Y. **Times**, 11/18).

RETIRING PRESIDENT MEETS UPCOMING FOREIGN MINISTER
Britain's Bevan tries brightening the White House dim view



Justus in Minneapolis Tribune

OUTDATED STAND: The neutral nations are demanding a halt to nuclear weapons tests as a prelude to disarmament. But columnist Marquis Childs found that "the evidence all points . . . to a firm [U.S.] determination to avoid any realistic negotiation" with the Soviet Union.

Childs wrote that a Senate Committee has evidence indicating that Dulles flew to London last August to torpedo the disarmament conference because "in the Dulles view . . . negotiation must wait for the West to attain a postion of incontestable strength, while the Soviet empire faces internal strains so severe as to indicate collapse. Recent events seem to have outdated that position, which the Secretary has maintained at all costs for five years."

The underdeveloped countries—including those under U. S. economic domination—are united in their demand for a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development to avoid incurring further obligations to the U.S. Last week in the UN Argentina accused the U.S. of "diversionary tactics" when the American delegate, in an effort to forestall discussion on SUNFED, offered to increase U. S. contributions to the much more limited UN Technical Assistance Fund.

WORRIED ALLIES: Even NATO members seem to interpret their obligations differently and seem to mistrust Washington.

France has used her share of NATO arms trying to hold on to Algeria. Her representatives recently walked out of a NATO conference because the U. S. and Britain were shipping some arms to Tunisia which, France feels, may fall into the hands of the Algerian freedom fighters. Franco's Spain, a member of the Dulles "free world," was reported (**Manchester Guardian**, 11/12)) to be "calling off its cold war with Russia." Spain is trading with Poland and negotiating contracts with East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

Britain does not seem to believe that the Soviet Union is ready to attack the West; it would, nevertheless, like to have a peep at the nuclear information held by Washington. London discounts Dulles' promises to share nuclear secrets with NATO partners because of what Joseph Alsop describes as the secretary's "habit of covering the backs of contracts with print so fine that it cannot be read by any eye not trained at Sullivan and Cromwell."

BRITAIN'S FEAR: But Britain has an even greater worry: repercussions on its own economy of an economic dislocation in the U.S.—the largest buyer, seller and investor in the world. During his recent U.S. lecture tour, Labour Party leader Aneurin Bevan spoke of Britain's "great fear" of an American depression and said: "If you're lying in bed with a giant, and he even turns to scratch his leg, he can knock you out of bed."

Bevan's U.S. tour gave Washington an excellent opportunity to reappraise its relationship with the country it considers its closest ally—a reappraisal it will have to make after the next British elections, when the Labour Party seems destined to return to power. Reappraisal is necessary even now because, as Labour victory in recent local elections has indicated, Bevan's party reflects British public opinion more than the Tories.

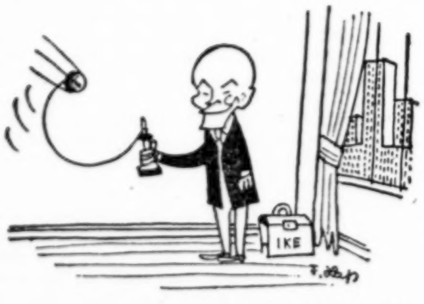
The **Manchester Guardian** (10/29) said Bevan's trip may be more important than Prime Minister Macmillan's, since "Bevan stands a good chance of being our next foreign Secretary and shaping policy for some time to come. [His] visit should, with luck, be one of the more useful trans-Atlantic jaunts since Columbus set sail." Yet, although Bevan met all high Washington officials—including the President—there was no indication that his views had influenced U.S. policy in the slightest degree.

NOT ALARMED: Bevan told University students and businessmen that he found Soviet satellite launchings "exciting, not alarming." While the students applauded and most businessmen disagreed, he advocated "neutralization of a united Germany," acceptance of Khrushchev's invitation for a top-level conference, agreement with Moscow for an arms embargo to the Middle East and multi-power guarantee of the boundaries of all Middle Eastern states, including Israel. He urged recognition of and trade with Peking: "It is impossible to starve a modern revolution into surrender or submission." Supporting SUNFED, he said the West could not demonstrate the superiority of its institutions by shipping arms to people who wanted bread.

Bevan's last point held the clue to the real significance of the Sputniks to the majority of the world's people—and to a U.S. answer that would be acceptable to them. This was understood by Gen. Omar Bradley—the "soldier's soldier"—who last week called for "peaceful accommodation" with Moscow rather than a missile race. He asked: "When are we going to muster an intelligence equal to that applied against the Sputnik and dedicate it to the preservation of this Satellite on which we live?"

The N.Y. **Post** said editorially (11/8): "The answer to Russia's Sputnik is not just bigger and better American-made devices [but] the unleashing of bold new programs for the [world's] underprivileged areas [and] the investment of more of our fortunes and energies . . . in the world-wide battle against poverty and disease [and] exploitation."

PEACEFUL COMPETITION: Accustomed to identifying technological advance with increased military might, Washington inevitably associated Sovet scientific progress as a "threat" to U.S. security. But to the world's underdeveloped countries it was encouraging evidence that they, too, could make equally rapid progress—under proper circumstances—in raising their living standards. They paid closer attention to Khrushchev's 15-year target of Soviet production increases as further evidence of Moscow's ability to compete with the West in supplying the tools they need to modernize their economy.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"See what Nikita sent me for my birthday?"

On this point, historian Isaac Deutscher wrote (London **New Statesman**, 10/26): "Soviet progress is now likely to proceed by leaps and bounds [and] superior efficiency [will translate itself] into higher standards of living . . . The world-wide contest of the two systems [is] bound to center on the technological and industrial duel of the two giants . . ."

Soviet scientific progress presents a "challenge," not a "threat," to the U.S. This was underscored by columnist Walter Lippmann (11/14): "The real issues in our present situation . . . turn upon our own capacity and willingness to make efforts to meet the challenge of Soviet competition." But neither the Republicans nor the Democrats seemed to be making the "truly agonizing reappraisal of our policies" that Lippmann felt was needed.

Republican and Democratic leaders differed little on U.S. foreign policy. Both parties still hugged to their breasts the "cause" of "containment of communism" although, as Prof. Gottlieb said, "it makes no sense to defy world opinion and our own moral judgment for a lost cause."

APPEAL SUCCESSFUL

4 free, new trial for 5 in Phila. Smith Act case

ON NOV. 13, the Third U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals set aside the 1953 convictions of four Philadelphfa Communist Party leaders and ordered new trials for five others.

Acquitted were Walter Lowenfels, Sherman Labovitz, Benjamin Weiss and Irving Katz. New trials were granted to Joseph Kuzma, David Davis, Thomas Nabried, Robert Klonsky and Joseph Roberts. The opinion was written by Judge William H. Hastie, with the concurrence of Judges Austin L. Staley and Herbert F. Goodrich, and was based on the Supreme Court's June 17 Yates decision that "mere teachings of the CP are not illegal and mere membership or holding of office and activities in and of the party did not prove conspiracy."

In a joint statement the defendants said: "The reversal of the convictions is a vindication and recognition that our advocacy of social changes for our country is by democratic means . . . Another trial for the remaining five defendants would be a travesty of justice . . . We are thankful of the support and sympathy rendered us by thousands of citizens. We ask for their continued support as we continue the good fight against this political frameup and to uphold the First amendment and the Bill of Rights."

A world of riches in a drop of heavy water

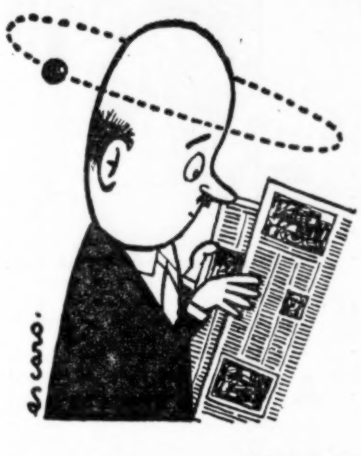
By Robert Joyce

IF MAN CAN CONTROL two explosive forces, himself and the atom, he may rocket into an earthly environment almost as strange to him as that of the sputniks he is sending into space. Compared to his poverty-stricken distant past of muscle-power and his more recent modest affluence with wind, coal, oil and hydroelectric energy, the potential wealth of the peaceful atom—and especially that of heavy hydrogen fusion—can be expressed only in astronomical figures.

Heavy hydrogen is deuterium or tritium, isotopes or variant forms of the hydrogen in all water. They are much cheaper and far more plentiful and give off more energy than uranium or plutonium—and may be safer to use. If they can be fused without the uranium explosion used in the hydrogen bomb, they will not give off such deadly wastes as strontium-90 which come from the fissioning A-bomb trigger of the H-bomb.

But heavy water can be made to yield its energy only at temperatures in the millions of degrees, where all material containers would be vaporized. The solution, or a step toward the solution, may be the "magnetic bottle" being experimented with in the U.S. and abroad. This is a tube of powerful magnets, a container made of magnetic forces, down the center of which the very hot and fast elements are guided as part of their mass is transformed into energy.

SUN'S SECRET: From the U.S., Britain and the Soviet Union last month came quiet announcements of progress in harnessing on earth this energy by which the sun has continued to glow in the heavens through billions of years. British and U.S. experts meeting at Princeton, N.J., said their results "suggest" the achievement of thermonuclear or fusion reactions under controlled conditions. Academician A. Topchiev, executive secretary of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, announced in Moscow that they were "closer to the solution of the master-task of present-day science, the evolution of a reactor capable of working on heavy and super-heavy hydrogen (deuterium and tritium), and not uranium fuel."



Liberation, Paris

"What else is new today?"

A Soviet delegate to the International Atomic Energy Agency meeting in Vienna said the Soviet scientists were confident of "practical success." It is not long since these scientists predicted the coming of space rockets to an unattentive world.

BIG DROP: The fission of 2.2 pounds of uranium-235 or plutonium—as in the reactors already in use or under construction in many countries—will provide 25,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electrical energy. The fusion of the same weight of heavy water will provide four times as much energy or 100,000,000 kilowatt-hours. At about the American standard of non-industrial or home consumption, this would mean a year's supply of electricity for 100,000 people. Figuring at 60 drops per ounce, one drop would power the domestic lights, refrigerators and other appliances of 47 people for one year. It is in such under-developed areas as Egypt that the most dramatic social results of plentiful low-cost power would appear—and probably appear quickly.

The lag in power is seen even in the Aswan high dam projected in Egypt (which was planned for its flood control and irrigation benefits as well as for electricity). Even with this great dam, the total energy electric production of Egypt would be 10,700,000,000 kilowatt-hours. This would be about 535 kilowatt-hours for each of Egypt's twenty million people as against more than 3,000 per head in the U.S. (including industrial uses).

THE BREAKTHROUGH: From the date of Watt's steam engine, 1769, the western European countries and the U.S. have taken 188 years to get to their present energy levels; if Joseph Henry's and Faraday's discoveries (1829-31) of electrical induction is taken as the origin of modern power production, it has taken us a century and a quarter. The revolution of the Soviets is now 40 years old and, although they are gaining rapidly, they have not yet caught up with us in this field.

With workable heavy-water generators it would seem that any community might pass our standard almost overnight, with power to irrigate, build, mine and manufacture. The energy-consumption and living standards of the already industrialized countries would also rise dramatically—if and when this breakthrough is made and if we can keep the peace.

BOOKS

HUNTON'S PASSIONATE STUDY

'Decision in Africa'

INTENSELY dramatic events are shaking the world's second largest continent to its very foundations. Millions of people all over Africa are breaking down the barriers to the 20th century, struggling to recover from alien robbers their rightful possessions.

The average American, his ears plugged by distorted news, remains deaf to the sound of the beating fists and the marching feet of the Africans. Yet Americans, most of all, must be made aware of the Africans' struggle; for, more than anything else, it is Washington's might backing the increasing U. S. economic stake that is propping up the rotten structure of colonialism in Africa.

Much has been written about the Asians' successful fight for freedom. But authentic information about today's liberation movement in Africa, especially within the compass of a single book, has been woefully meager. In **Decision in Africa,** W. Alphaeus Hunton has been highly successful in telling the story of the Africans' fight for freedom and the obstacles it encounters.

NO SAFARI: By heredity and association, Dr. Hunton is eminently qualified to tell this story. For 17 years he taught at Howard University and for 12 years he was the educational director and executive secretary of the Council on African Affairs. Besides his deep knowledge of African affairs, Dr. Hunton has personally known many of the modern African leaders.

A single book, of course, cannot present a complete picture of the Africans' past achievements and present problems to the American reader beguiled by Hollywood safaris and Madison Avenue's display of contented, primitive Africans working in mines and plantations for the benefit of U.S. investors.

DU BOIS PREFACE: Africans have a proud cultural heritage. In an illuminating foreword to **Decision in Africa,** Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois says: "Africa has long meant much to humanity. Egypt is historically African. . . . Greece looked toward Africa for inspiration; Rome saw Africa as a main part of her empire. There was a period during the early Middle Ages when Africa led the world, and in Africa the Catholic Church was born. . . . A main center of the Moslem Empire when it spread west was Africa, and later the black kingdoms of the Sudan were of prime significance to modern culture. The African slave trade built up the American world and later established capitalism in Europe, while modern art is built on African foundations."

Dr. Hunton, however, has wisely chosen to confine his study to how Africans now provide for their needs, though sketching in enough of the past to supply a frame of reference. He writes: "It is our purpose to trace the evolution of the African's relation to capitalist enterprise in his land, seeing how it has influenced and is today determining the content and form of his striving toward a better, freer life."

FITTING PASSION: Dr. Hunton covers events in Africa from Egypt to the Union of South Africa, from Liberia to Kenya. He presents a wealth of fresh material, dealing with the exploitation of the land and the people and, especially, with America's increasing effort to dominate the economic and political life of the Africans. He describes what is happening in states like Ghana that have achieved independence and what Africans are doing to gain freedom where they are still in bondage. He analyses the influence of the Bandung conference and of the achievements of the socialist countries on African thinking, and discusses the potentialities of the UN.

Dr. Hunton's writing does not suffer from the anaemia that passes for objectivity; it is charged with the passion befitting the heroic struggle of human beings fighting for liberty and dignity. He has written an impressively documented book, with original maps and charts and a serviceable index.

—Kumar Goshal

DECISION IN AFRICA by W. Alphaeus Hunton. 250 pp. plus index. $4. International Publishers, 381 Fourth Ave., N.Y. 16.

PATRONIZE
GUARDIAN ADVERTISERS

A UNESCO REPORT

Fresh energy

AN UP-TO-THE-MINUTE report on new ways to put familiar forces of nature to work for man has been compiled by the UN Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs. The sun, tides, wind, hot springs and volcanic "fumaroles," and the temperature differences between the cold depths and the warmer surface of the oceans are getting attention from engineers and researchers in many lands. These efforts have been unrelated and sometimes repetitive. The report, **New Sources of Energy and Economic Development,*** is intended to coordinate them. It aims to promote the conservation of fossil fuels (coal and oil) and to channel aid to the many "under-developed areas where agriculture, combined with some form of rural industry, is the predominant means of supporting a population." As compared to the huge power stations of already industrialized lands, these alternate sources could provide small power units for food preservation (as in refrigeration), water-pumping and communications which are especially needed in isolated communities. An extensive bibliography summarizes reports on recent work from the U.S., U.S.S.R., France, Italy and other countries. **—R.J.**

**NEW SOURCES OF ENERGY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, N. Y. 27; 150 pp.; $1.25.*

In Heaven's name . . .

IN HIS BOOK **Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy,** H. A. Kissinger says that in a "limited war" the U.S. would have to announce in advance its objectives and intended measures to avoid misunderstanding on the part of the enemy: "It therefore becomes **the task of our diplomacy** to convey to our opponent what we understand by limited war . . . Unless some concept of limitation is established in advance, miscalculation . . . may cause the war to become all-out even should both sides intend to limit it."

In a review of this book and Robert E Osgood's **Limited War,** Matthew Josephson wrote in **The Nation** (8/31): "Yet if such elaborate exercises in diplomacy are to be staged in advance of a limited war, calling for exchanges of intelligence and guarantees, and even mutual inspection, then why in heaven's name cannot the same diplomatic effort be extended toward bringing about peaceful compromises? Even Professor Osgood, who also loves limited war, holds that the Russians have reconciled themselves to numerous painful compromises, from that of Greece in 1947 to Suez in 1956 . . . The only constructive suggestion in [Kissinger's book] is that of extended diplomatic **pourparlers** [conferences] to precede the ritual of limited war. Let us hope that they become extended and contagious."

the SPECTATOR

Saints and sinners

WHEN THE JUDGES AWARDED this year's Nobel prize for literature to Albert Camus, they said it was for the light he shed on the problems currently confronting the conscience of mankind. His American publishers have since revised the book-jacket of his latest work, **The Fall**, to include the designation, "Europe's greatest living writer." Such acclaim is naturally suspect. Normally one would suppose that it could be won only by a writer who offended nobody in high places or by one who offends everybody.

The brilliant, searching, sardonic light that Camus throws upon society and the individual in fact spares nobody and so everybody can see his enemies pilloried and forgive all else. Moreover, Camus is in love, not with revolution, but with sainthood, and few have ever feared the power of a saint. Saints are generally safe until after they are dead and their thinking put to organized purposes by more dangerous apostles.

ALBERT CAMUS

CAMUS WAS BORN of an Alsatian father and a Spanish mother on a farm in Algiers. He has been school teacher, leader in the French Resistance, editor, director, playwright, novelist. At 44 he is not only one of the youngest ever to receive the Nobel prize but one with the the slimmest collection of works: four plays, three novels and a book-length essay on rebellion. Most of his books are short and all are written with a skill, wit and style that make the journey of his thought entrancing even to those who find he comes out nowhere at the end.

He is a humanist who punctures the pretensions of those who make a career of doing good; he is a rebel who is constantly rebelling against revolutionists. He is a saint with no use for gods or churches. He loves mankind but is convinced that all hell is made by men on earth.

In the days when he was close to Jean-Paul Sartre he came to believe the orthodox existentialist position that, God and monarchies having crumbled, there was nothing left but for man to begin again to create standards, purposes and morals to live by. Sartre went on to identify himself with the Left and with socialism, believing that the only life worth living was one spent in such an emancipating struggle, though he entertained doubts about the final victory. The struggle was meaningful enough for Sartre, though in his thinking it would go on eternally.

CAMUS SAID PLAINLY in his essay, **The Rebel**, that an objective which cannot be attained almost at once is not worth a child's tears, much less a child's life. A utopia postponed to a later generation is to him like the heaven of religion, a cause which claims men's lives and which drives them to the barbaric cruelties of holy wars. He is for rebellion against injustice on an immediate personal basis for which the rebel may sacrifice himself but no others. "True generosity to the future," he writes, "consists in giving all to the present."

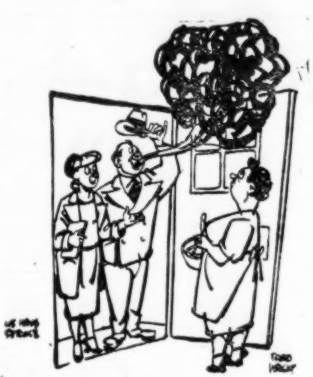
In **The Plague**, a deft novel of a city, Oran, isolated by an epidemic, Camus comes to the conclusion that a life of personal service to others is the only worthy one. But in **The Fall**—a witty, trenchant monologue—he comes to doubt even the saint, revealing him as a man who serves others only to master them, to exalt himself. His character is haunted by the cry of a girl who jumped from a bridge into the Seine and drowned while he hesitated to save her. He sees all men steeped in the guilt of the world's crimes which they do not halt, the saint sharing their guilt but seeking to show his own superiority by charity.

THE MAN WHO RECITES the monologue in **The Fall** tells of a day he spent in a North Africa concentration camp during the war. The prisoners elected him their leader. He saw that they had water and whatever else was needed in the burning desert heat. Then he drank the water ration of a man who lay dying because, he reasoned, the man was going to die anyway and the leader had a duty to keep himself alive for the rest of the men. He concludes that "thus empires and churches are born under the sun of death."

That scene is Camus' final word on state, church and all organized movements. Those who believe in an organization for liberation or for socialism have seen in Camus a threat and a distraction. Actually he is not, for no one can follow him. His thinking scorns such things as movements and he himself would deride his following. The man who recites **The Fall** calls himself "an empty prophet for shabby times." He cannot therefore be a false Messiah to lead many down the garden path. He is too candid with himself.

It is a mistake to look only at Camus' conclusions. The journey to those conclusions is what makes him such stimulating reading. As the perennial rebel with a sharp eye and a devastating phrase for injustice, pomposity and pretentions he can be helpful even to a Left that has only begun to look at itself.

—**Elmer Bendiner**



Drawing by Fred Wright

"Meet my new boy friend . . . he works in the foundry."

Debate on capitalism in Baltimore—Dec. 6

A DEBATE on the topic, "Must the Boom Bust?—Can America Avoid Depression and Maintain Free Enterprise," will be held Fri., Dec. 6, at 8:30 p.m., at the Mt. Lebanon Baptist Church, 2320 Reisterstown Rd., Baltimore, Md.

Participating will be Harry Braverman, co-editor of the **American Socialist** and Dr. Abba P. Leiner, professor of economics, Roosevelt U., a Keynesian economist.

The debate is sponsored by the Socialist Study group of Baltimore. Admission is 50c.

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Bronx party to mark Smith Act reversals

A PARTY and reception for the freed Smith Act defendants from Pittsburgh will be held on Sat. eve., Nov. 23, at Allerton Community Center, 683 Allerton Av., Bronx, at 8:30. Frank Wilkerson of the ECLC and Robert Thompson of the Communist Party will speak. Square dance caller Irwin Silber will entertain. Food and refreshments will be served. Admission is $1. The evening is sponsored by the Bronx Civil Liberties Comm.

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saturday, november 30, 8:30 p.m.
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For fine art holiday cards, see p. 12

CALENDAR

Chicago

SAT., NOV. 23—Hear **ROCKWELL KENT**, world-renowned artist, author, lecturer, speaking to mark the 40th Anniversary of the USSR and 24th Anniversary of U.S.-U.S.S.R. diplomatic relations. Also, speaker from Soviet Embassy. 32 W. Randolph, Hall C-1. 8:15 p.m. 90c. Ausp: Chi. Coun. Amer.-Sov. Friendship.

Detroit

INFORMAL RECEPTION
for
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
pioneer organizer of American Labor, campaigner for civil liberties, Sat., Nov. 30, 8:15 p.m., at The Skyroom of Hotel Tuller, Detroit. Musical program, refreshments, and discussion follows.

Minneapolis

MALCOLM P. SHARP, Prof. of Law, Univ. of Chicago, speaks on "Was Justice Done to Morton Sobell?" on Thurs., Dec. 5, 8 p.m., Minnesota Room, Leamington Hotel, Mpl., Ausp: Minn. Comm. to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. Adm: 50c.

Los Angeles

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Speaker: **MURRY WEISS**
Fri., Nov. 29, 8:15 p.m. at 1702 East 4 St., Los Angeles.

San Francisco

Hold the date
"OPENING THE INTERPLANETARY ERA"
Wednesday, Dec. 4, 8 p.m.
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QUESTIONS & DISCUSSION

New York

Shakespeare's Abdication
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Monday, November 25
59 W. 71 St. Penthouse 10-A
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PROGRAM OF SOCIALIST STUDIES
for week of November 26
Tuesday, November 26
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"Reconstruction" at 7:15 p.m.
DR. OTTO NATHAN
"Why Socialism Is Relevant at 9 p.m.
Wednesday, November 27
DR. BARROWS DUNHAM
"Existentialism & Positivism" at 7:15 p.m.
KUMAR GOSHAL
"Chinese Revolution & Colonial World" at 9 p.m.
There will be no lecture Thursday, Nov. 28. Final lectures of Dr. Du Bois and F. G. Clarke will be held Tues., Dec. 3. Adelphi Hall, 74 5 Av. (nr. 14 St.) Tuition $1.50 per session, students $1. Sponsor: **SOCIALIST UNITY FORUM.**

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COCKTAIL PARTY & RECEPTION
Tribute to Supreme Court Decisions Sat., Nov. 23, 8:30 to——? at Allerton Community Center, 683 Allerton Av., Bronx. Greetings by Frank Wilkerson, E.C.L.C. and Robert Thompson. Food & Refreshment. Entertainment by Irwin Silber, folk & square dance caller. Ausp: Bronx Civil Liberties Committee.

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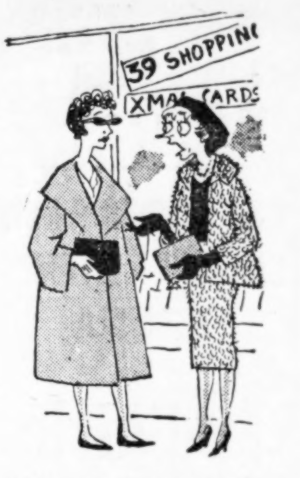

Lancaster in London Daily Express

"Quite frankly it's not the strategic aspect, but the thought of all those Santa Claus-Sputnik jokes we're in for that's depressing me."

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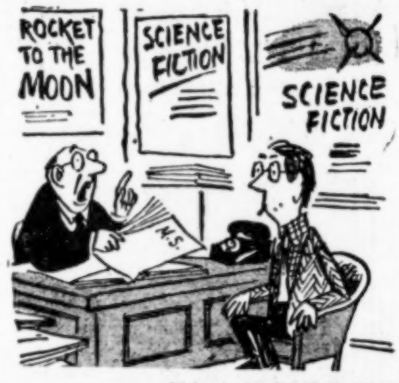
THE GALLERY

NIKOS KAZANTZAKIS, a great Greek novelist almost unknown in the U. S., died on Oct. 27 in West Berlin. His body was taken to his home town of Herakleion in Crete for a state funeral. In London last month the film **He Who Must Die**, based on Kazantzakis' novel **Christ Re-Crucified**, won rave notices. It was directed by Jules Dassin who was blacklisted in Hollywood. A closing passage in the novel repeats almost verbatim the words Kazantzakis used when he accepted the International Peace Prize in 1956:

"An angel came down to earth. The devil who was master of the earth was furious about it. He fell upon him and cut him in two. But out of the two pieces, two angels sprang. The devil became more furious and with his sword cut the two angels into four. Immediately four angels appeared. The devil now took fright and fell upon them again and again. The result was that the four angels became eight, the eight sixteen and the sixteen thirty-two, and very soon a whole army of angels covered the earth. Dear friends, I am sure you will recognize the first angel. He was the angel of peace."

WHEN DONALD OGDEN STEWART'S play **The Kidders** opened in London on Nov. 12 he and his author-journalist wife Ella Winter tossed a double-celebration: for the play and for his passport, granted on Nov. 6 after a five-year legal fight. In New York Stewart's lawyer Leonard Boudin said he was happy for Stewart but regretted that the Supreme Court had had no chance to rule on the Constitutional issues involved. (The Appeals Court ordered the State Dept. to reconsider its refusal after Stewart testified under oath that he had not been engaged in politics in the last 15 years but declined to go further back than that. Boudin added that the "Stewart principle" of refusing unlimited discussion of one's politics was still important and if the State Dept. followed it, other passport applicants would be spared the high costs of fighting their cases through the courts. Stewart spent $7,500 in legal costs.



Vicky in London Daily Mirror

"Can't you think of something more original than moons, space-ships, etc.? Remember, we're publishing fiction, man, fiction!"

THE BIG PASSPORT DECISIONS are expected any Monday afternoon when the Supreme Court decides whether or not to hear the cases of Walter Briehl and Rockwell Kent. Passports for them could nullify the whole State Dept. assault on the right to travel . . . The blacklist forced many ex-Hollywood writers to use pseudonyms even when writing abroad, for film companies hoping for a U. S. market. But blacklist walls are crumbling. Joseph Losey, Ben Barzman and Jules Dassin are now credited in their own names, with recent British movies. Even before his passport was granted Stewart wrote a script for Pinewood Studios in England under his own name. The **News Chronicle** called Stewart's passport party a "wake for Gilbert Holland." Holland was Stewart's under-the-table name during the long night of the blacklist.

THE QUAKER FORUM OF ORCHARD PARK, N. Y. (pop. 2,035), near Buffalo, last week scheduled a debate on Congressional investigations between Joseph McNamara, chairman of the Subversive Activities committee of the American Legion and Mrs. Dorothy Ballan, executive committee member of the Erie County Socialist Workers Party. The Quaker town runs its own official newspaper, the **Press,** which features a column called "Quaker Lady," a Herblock cartoon and, in the Nov. 7 issue, an editorial calling bomb shelters and air raid drills "childish, obsolete and futile . . . In our day there is only one defense against war, and that is to do away with it" . . . From an address by Carter Davidson, executive director of the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations, delivered early this month at Chicago U.: "And what explanations has Washington given for our failures? One third of them have been hilarious, one third idiotic, and the last third treasonous . . . There is just one thing I'll say in defense: John Foster Dulles is a very devout Christian."

THE U. S. SUPREME COURT JUSTICES ON NOV. 5 deliberated at a private showing of the French movie, **Game of Love,** which had been named as obscene by the Chicago censor. After the showing in a one-paragraph unsigned opinion they reversed the censor's ban . . . Loften Mitchell's **Land Beyond The River,** now at New York's Greenwich Mews Theatre, won the Negro Actors Guild award for its treatment of the desegregation issue . . . Gale Sondergaard will appear in a dramatization of the life of Emma Lazarus on Nov. 30 in the Wilshire Ebell Theater, Los Angeles, marking the 70th anniversary of Emma Lazarus' death. The program is offered by the Emma Lazarus Jewish Women's Clubs. Proceeds will go to the City of Hope, Mt. Sinai Hospital and the Reseda Home for the Aged. Tickets at $1.25 or $1.69 available at the box office or by calling WEbster 4-4358.

NEGRO BARS AND LIQUOR STORES in Los Angeles are reported to be pressing a boycott of Budweiser beer. The Rev. Maurice A. Dawkins, president of the L. A. branch of the NAACP, claims there are only two Negroes on Budweiser's payroll of 440 production and distribution workers . . . In October factory payrolls dropped for the 10th straight month. The **Wall Street Journal** said the nation was in "a mild set-back, though there is no way of fixing the date of its bottom."

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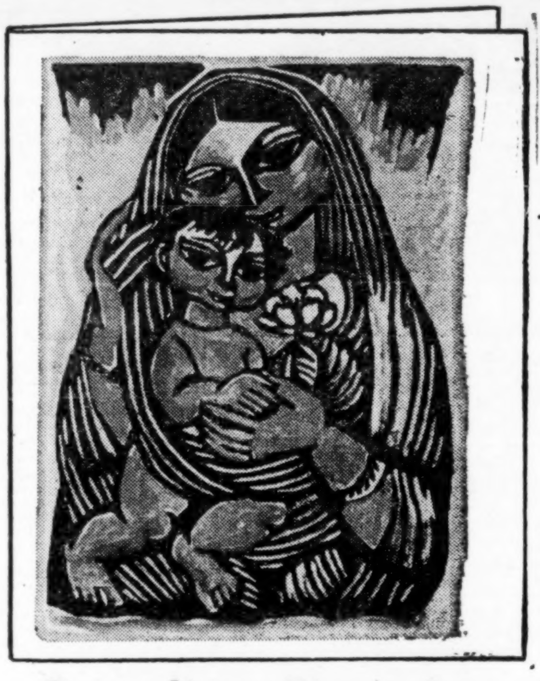

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